

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 TOKYO 14769 01 OF 04 011056Z

12
ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00

USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSC-05 PA-01

PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 OMB-01 EB-07 NEA-10 AF-08 TRSE-00

IO-13 MCT-01 EAE-00 FEAE-00 /090 W

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 4 TOKYO 14769

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, JA

SUBJECT: 22ND US-JAPAN PLANNING TALKS

FOLLOWING IS JAPANESE CONTRIBUTION FOR PLANNING
TALKS ON POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TRENDS AND POLICY
ISSUES FOR JAPAN IN MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA.
PAPER REPRESENTS PERSONAL VIEW OF MEMBER OF
RESEARCH AND PLANNING DIVISION AND HAS NOT BEEN
OFFICIALLY CLEARED WITHIN THE MINISTRY.
JAPANESE CLASSIFICATION IS SECRET.

I. MIDDLE EAST

1. THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TRENDS IN THE MIDDLE EAST COUNTRIES

(1) THE BASIC TRENDS

(A) SINCE THE OCTOBER WAR, THE CONFIDENCE OF
THE ARAB OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES IN THEIR OWN POWER
AND WEALTH HAVE GROWN, AND THE INTEREST IN THEIR
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE IMPORTATION OF MODERN
WEAPONS HAVE INCREASED. AT THE SAME TIME, THE

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SECRET

PAGE 02 TOKYO 14769 01 OF 04 011056Z

POSITION OF SUCH MODERATE POWERS LIKE EGYPT AND

SAUDI ARABIA HAVE BECOME STRONGER. THE CONCLUSION OF THE 2ND SINAI AGREEMENT IN 1975 BROUGHT ABOUT AN "HONORABLE PEACE" TO EGYPT, WHOSE POSITION CONTRASTS STRIKINGLY WITH THAT OF SYRIA AND JORDAN WHICH HAVE NOT HAD ANY CHANCE AS YET OF RESTORING THEIR LOST HONOR. MOREOVER, SINCE THE CONCLUSION OF THE AGREEMENT, DISUNITY OF THE ARAB WORLD HAVE BECOME APPARENT.

(B) ALTHOUGH THE PALESTINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT ENJOYS THE UNSWERVING SUPPORT FROM THE ARAB COUNTRIES IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA AT LARGE, THE ARAB GOVERNMENTS ARE TROUBLED ABOUT HOW TO TREAT PALESTINIANS IN THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES, AND THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THOSE ARAB GOVERNMENTS AND PALESTINIAN LIBERATION GROUPS, ESPECIALLY THE RADICAL GROUPS, HAS INTENSIFIED, WEAKENING THE LATTERS'S FORCE.

(2) THE PRESENT SITUATION AND THE PROSPECT OF THE LEBANESE CONFLICT

(A) THE IMMEDIATE CAUSE OF THE LEBANESE CONFLICT COULD BE ATTRIBUTED TO THE FACT THAT THE PALESTINIAN LIBERATION GROUPS IN LEBANON, JOINED FORCES WITH THE MOSLEM LEFTISTS DEMANDING CHANGE IN THE SOCIAL SYSTEM BASED ON CHRISTIAN SUPERIORITY AND THREATENED THE CHRISTIAN RIGHTISTS.

(B) AS FOR THE REASONS FOR THE SYRIAN INTERVENTION IN LEBANON, SYRIAN ISOLATION CAUSED BY THE 2ND SINAI AGREEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT APPEARS TO BE AN IMPORTANT FACTOR. IN INTERVENING IN LEBANON, SYRIA SEEMS TO HAVE SOUGHT TO ACHIEVE TWO OBJECTIVES: (I) TO STRENGTHEN ITS CONTROL OVER THE PALESTINIAN LIBERATION GROUPS IN ORDER TO PLAY A LEADING ROLE IN NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND TO PREVENT LEBANON FROM BECOMING EXTREMIST UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF PLO; AND (II) TO EXTEND ITS OWN SPHERE OF INFLUENCE WHILE THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT IS AT A STALEMATE, AND TAKE THE FIRST
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 TOKYO 14769 01 OF 04 011056Z

STEP TOWARD ESTABLISHMENT OF "THE GREATER SYRIA".

(C) SYRIAN INTERVENTION WOULD MOST LIKELY CONTINUE FOR A LONG PERIOD OF TIME AND POSSIBILITIES OF SUCCESS IN MEDIATION BY THE ARAB LEAGUE ARE SLIGHT. THEREFORE, THE LEBANESE CONFLICT WOULD BE PROLONGED. NEVERTHELESS, THERE IS LITTLE POSSIBILITY THAT THIS CONFLICT WOULD DEVELOP INTO ANOTHER WAR BETWEEN THE

ARAB COUNTRIES AND ISRAEL.

(3) THE PROSPECTS OF THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT

(A) THE LEBANESE CONFLICT HAS PROMOTED DISUNITY OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES AND WEAKENED PRESSURE OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES ON ISRAEL AS WELL AS THE POSITION OF THE PLO. THUS THE CONFLICT APPEARS TO HAVE INCREASED CHANCES FOR PEACE NEGOTIATIONS UNDER THE INITIATIVE OF THE MODERATES.

(B) IN VIEW OF THE GOOD RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SYRIA AND JORDAN, THE WEAKENING OF THE PLO AND THE STRENGTHENING OF SYRIAN CONTROL OVER THE PALESTINIAN LIBERATION GROUPS MAY WELL AID JORDAN'S POSITION OVER THE PALESTINE PROBLEM AND THE WEST BANK PROBLEM.

(C) THE FOLLOWING THREE PRINCIPLES SEEM TO HAVE EMERGED AS THE FUNDAMENTALS OF A VIABLE FORMULA FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT: (I) ISRAEL'S WITHDRAWAL FROM THE TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN THE 1967 WAR; (II) RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHT OF PALESTINIANS TO ESTABLISH THEIR OWN COUNTRY; AND (III) THE GUARANTEE OF THE RIGHT OF EXISTENCE FOR EACH COUNTRY INCLUDING ISRAEL. AS FOR THE ISRAEL'S DEMAND FOR THE RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL NOT ONLY AS A DE FACTO ENTITY BUT AS A NATION, THERE MIGHT BE ROOM FOR COMPROMISE CONSIDERING SYRIA'S INTENTION TO ENLARGE ITS OWN SPHERE OF INFLUENCE THROUGH THE LEBANESE CONFLICT.

(D) THE UNITED STATES MIGHT BE CONSIDERING THE PRESENT SITUATION AS MOVING IN A DIRECTION DESIRABLE FOR PEACE NEGOTIATION UNDER ITS INITIATIVES.

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SECRET

PAGE 04 TOKYO 14769 01 OF 04 011056Z

IF SO, WOULD SHE BE STUDYING CHANCES FOR TAKING NEW INITIATIVES AT AN APPROPRIATE TIME? SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF THE FUTURE U.S. EFFORTS WILL LARGELY DEPEND ON ISRAEL'S ATTITUDE. THE SOVIET UNION WOULD CONTINUE TO EXERT ITS INFLUENCE ON LIBYA, IRAQ OR PLO, IN ORDER TO PREVENT A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT UNDER U.S. INITIATIVE FROM BEING ACHIEVED.

(4) THE ECONOMIC TREND OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES
AND MIDDLE EAST OIL

(A) THE ARAB OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES ARE MAKING EFFORTS TO CARRY OUT A LARGE-SCALE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM SUPPORTED BY HUGE OIL REVENUES. IN SO DOING THEY ARE SUFFERING FROM

VICIOUS INFLATION, OWING TO INCREASE OF FINANCIAL EXPENDITURE AND RISE IN PRICES OF IMPORTED GOODS. MOREOVER, THEY ARE CONFRONTED WITH SUCH PROBLEMS AS SHORTAGE OF ENGINEERS AND MAN POWER AND INSUFFICIENT INFRASTRUCTURE, WHICH HAVE IMPEDED THEIR DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS. DUE TO THE STAGNATION OF EXPORT CAUSED BY THE WORLD-WIDE DEPRESSION AND ALSO A STEEP RISE IN PRICES OF IMPORTS RESULTING FROM THE INCREASED COST OF OIL, THE ARAB NON-OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES ARE SUFFERING FROM INCREASING DEFICIT IN TRADE AND RISE IN PRICES, THOUGH THEY APPEAR TO HAVE SOMEHOW AVOIDED THE WORST WITH THE OIL-PRODUCERS' AID AND OTHER MEASURES.

(B) THERE IS A TENDENCY OF DECREASING SURPLUS IN THE CURRENT BALANCE OF PAYMENTS OF SOME ARAB OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES. THE PROSPECTS FOR ACCUMULATION OF OIL MONEY HAVE RECENTLY BEEN MODIFIED. NOW IT IS ESTIMATED THAT EVEN BY 1980 IT WILL NOT REACH THE LEVEL OF 150 BILLION DOLLARS. HENCE A VIEW THAT THE EXTENT OF INFLUENCE THE ARAB OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES MIGHT EXERT WILL BE LIMITED.

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PAGE 01 TOKYO 14769 02 OF 04 011123Z

10

ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2655

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 4 TOKYO 14769

(C) THE OIL PRICE MAY WELL BE RAISED AFTER THIS YEAR, IN VIEW OF THE EXPECTED INCREASE IN

DEMAND FOR OIL GENERATED BY THE RECOVERY OF THE WORLD ECONOMY AS WELL AS BY THE DESIRE OF MANY OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES TO INCREASE THEIR OWN OIL REVENUES SO AS TO FACILITATE THEIR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. IN DECIDING THE LEVEL OF INCREASE IN THE OIL PRICE, THEY WILL TAKE INTO ACCOUNT SUCH FACTORS AS EFFECTS OF IMPORTATION OF INFLATION, THE RECOVERING TREND OF THE ECONOMIES OF THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES, EFFECTS UPON THE SO-CALLED MOST SERIOUSLY AFFECTED COUNTRIES, ETC. MOREOVER, AS IT HAPPENED AT THE OPEC CONFERENCE IN MAY OF THIS YEAR, POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS MIGHT WELL BE MADE.

(D) THOUGH CHANCES HAVE BEEN LESSENING, DUE TO THE CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES, FOR THE ARAB OIL PRODUCERS TO RESUME THE OIL STRATEGY THEY EMBARKED IN 1973, SUCH POSSIBILITY CANNOT BE EXCLUDED, DEPENDING UPON THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT. HOWEVER, EFFECTIVENESS OF SUCH ACTION WILL BE LIMITED IN COMPARISON WITH THE CASE IN 1973, IN VIEW OF THE EXPECTED COUNTERVAILING MEASURES ADVANCED COUNTRIES MAY TAKE THROUGH SUCH FACILITIES AS IN THE IEA.

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SECRET

PAGE 02 TOKYO 14769 02 OF 04 011123Z

2. THE FUTURE POLICY

(1) JAPAN'S POLICY TOWARD THE MIDDLE EAST

(A) PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE WORLD PEACE. ALSO, THE ARAB COUNTRIES OCCUPY AN IMPORTANT POSITION IN THE FIELD OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND ECONOMY. FOR JAPAN, THEY ARE AN IMPORTANT SOURCE OF OIL AND REPRESENT A GREAT POTENTIAL FOR INCREASED ECONOMIC EXCHANGES. ON THE BASIS OF SUCH RECOGNITION, THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF OUR POLICY TOWARD THE MIDDLE EAST ARE: I) TO SUPPORT INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS FOR SECURING PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST, II) TO MAINTAIN FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE COUNTRIES IN THE AREA, III) TO SECURE THE SUPPLY OF OIL, IV) TO MAINTAIN AND EXPAND VARIOUS ECONOMIC EXCHANGES, INCLUDING ASSISTANCE IN THEIR DEVELOPMENT.

(B) TO SOLVE THE NORTH-SOUTH PROBLEM, IT IS PARTICULARLY IMPORTANT TO PROMOTE RELATIONSHIP OF CO-OPERATION AND HARMONY BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES AND THE MIDDLE EAST COUNTRIES. IN ESTABLISHING SUCH RELATIONSHIP, COORDINATION AMONG ADVANCED COUNTRIES IS NECESSARY.

(C) WHILE JAPAN'S BASIC POLICY IS TO PROMOTE RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST, IT WOULD BE REALISTIC TO BE SOMEWHAT SELECTIVE IN IMPLEMENTING ACTUAL POLICIES. TAKING INTO ACCOUNT SUCH FACTORS AS POLITICAL INFLUENCE, OIL SUPPLY CAPACITY AND THE POTENTIAL OFR ECONOMIC EXCHANGES, EGYPT, SAUDI ARABIA, ALGERIA, IRAN, IRAQ, KUWAIT AND UNITED ARAB EMIRATES ARE ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT FOR OUR COUNTRY.

(2) THE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT

(A) JAPAN SHOULD FIRMLY UPHOLD THE POSITION ITS HAS MAINTAINED SO FAR.

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SECRET

PAGE 03 TOKYO 14769 02 OF 04 011123Z

(B) ALTHOUGH THE ROLE WHICH OUR COUNTRY CAN PLAY IS LIMITED, IT IS IMPORTANT TO SHOW ITS JUST AND FAIR STAND IN THE SETTLEMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM AND TO ENDEAVOR TO OBTAIN THE UNDERSTANDING FROM BOTH ARAB COUNTRIES AND ISRAEL, THROUGH DIALOGUES WITH COUNTRIES CONCERNED, DELIBERATION IN THE UNITED NATIONS AND OTHER POSSIBLE MEANS.

(C) TO THE UNITED STATES, THE FOLLOWING POINTS COULD BE SUGGESTED.

I) IT MAY BE SAID THAT THE PRESENT SITUATION MIGHT MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR ISRAEL TO ENTER INTO PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT SUFFERING UNREASONABLE PRESSURE FROM THE ARAB SIDE. WOULDN'T IT BE A GOOD OPPORTUNITY FOR THE UNITED STATES TO TAKE AN INITIATIVE TO FACILITATE THE NEGOTIATIONS?

II) FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF PROMOTING PEACE NEGOTIATIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AN EFFECTIVE APPROACH WOULD BE TO BOLSTER THE POSITION OF THE MODERATE GROUPS IN PLO. WOULDN'T IT BE POSSIBLE TO TAKE ACTION IN THIS REGARD?

III) THE UNITED STATES HAVE TAKEN EFFECTIVE INITIATIVES IN PROMOTING PEACE NEGOTIATIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST. IN FUTURE, IT MIGHT BE DESIRABLE TO SEEK POSSIBLE WAYS FOR INVOLVING THE SOVIET UNION IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THE OVERALL AND LASTING SETTLEMENT OF THE MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM,

INCLUDING THE SOLUTION OF THE PALESTINIAN
PROBLEM.

II. AFRICA

1. PRESENT SITUATION AND PROSPECTS

(1) BASIC TRENDS OF AFRICAN SITUATION

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PAGE 04 TOKYO 14769 02 OF 04 011123Z

(A) IN RECENT YEARS, DEVELOPMENTS IN AFRICA
HAVE BECOME ONE OF THE FOCUSES FO ATTENTION IN THE
INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ARENA. AS FACTORS
WHICH CONTRIBUTED TO THIS INCREASED ATTENTION, THE
FOLLOWING CAN BE CITED:

(I) THE WEIGHT OF AFRICAN COUNTRIEA
AMONG THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES' GROUP HAS BECOME
GREATER, AND THEY HAVE STRENGTHENED THEIR SELF-
ASSERTION BACKED BY THE POWER OF NUMBER OF THEIR OWN
GROUP.

(II) AFRICA, WITH VARIOUS NATURAL RESOURCES,
HAS GAINED INCREASING IMPORTANCE TO THE ECONOMIES OF
THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES OF THE WEST.

(III) CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE
WEST IN AFRICA HAVE IN RECENT YEARS INTENSIFIED DUE
TO THE GROWING SOVIET INFLUENCE.

(B) AFRICA IS ONE OF THE MOST UNSTABLE REGIONS
IN THE WORLD, DUE TO THE FOLLOWING REASONS:

(I) THE LEVEL OF THE ECONOMY IS VERY LOW.
(26 OUT OF 42 MSA COUNTRIES ARE IN AFRICA.)

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PAGE 01 TOKYO 14769 03 OF 04 011155Z

ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00

USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSC-05 PA-01

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2656

S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 4 TOKYO 14769

(II) THE BASIC POLITICAL AND SOCIAL UNIT IN AFRICA IS THE "TRIBE". THIS, TOGETHER WITH OTHER HISTORICAL FACTORS, ACCOUNT FOR THE LACK OF SUFFICIENT BASIS FOR THE FORMATION OF THE MODERN NATION STATE.

(III) THERE ARE MANY SOURCES OF REGIONAL DISPUTE, SUCH AS THE CONFLICTS BETWEEN SOMALIA AND ETHIOPIA, KENYA AND UGANDA, AND MALI AND UPPER VOLTA, OR THE WEST SAHARA QUESTION.

(IV) VESTIGES OF WESTEUROPEAN COLONIALISM SUCH AS THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEM MAKE GOOD GROUND FOR RADICALS TO EXPAND THEIR INFLUENCE.

(C) AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF ABOVE-MENTIONED SITUATION, AFRICA IS UNDERGOING A PERIOD OF RAPID TRANSITION IN THE LAST TWO, THREE YEARS.

(I) THE POSITION OF THE WHITES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA HAS WEAKENED RAPIDLY, AND THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA HAVE INTENSIFIED FOLLOWING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RADICAL REGIMES IN MOZAMBIQUE AND ANGOLA.

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PAGE 02 TOKYO 14769 03 OF 04 011155Z

(II) THE SOVIET UNION IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY ACTIVE IN EXTENDING ITS INFLUENCE, THROUGH SUCH MOVES AS SENDING CUBAN FORCES TO ANGOLA. IT IS SEEKING TO ESTABLISH "ANGOLA-TYPE SOCIALIST REPUBLICS" IN SOUTHERN AFRICA BY USING MOZAMBIQUE, ANGOLA, RADICAL ELEMENTS OF SWAPO AND OF ZIMBABWE LIBERATION MOVEMENT.

IN CONTRAST, THE CHINESE INFLUENCE IS ON THE DECLINE.

(III) MANY AFRICAN COUNTRIES ARE CONFRONTED WITH SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES IN CARRYING OUT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT DUE TO THE INFLATION IN THE WAKE OF THE OIL CRISIS, THE SHARP RISE IN IMPORT PRICES AND THE DEPRESSED PRICES OF THEIR EXPORTS.

(2) TRENDS OF THE SITUATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

(A) CURRENTLY EFFORTS ARE BEING MADE UNDER THE AMERICAN INITIATIVES FOR A PEACEFUL TRANSFER TO MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA AND FOR THE SOLUTION OF THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM. ACCORDINGLY, THE PROSPECT THAT A PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF NAMIBIAN AND RHODESIAN PROBLEMS WILL SOMEHOW BE REACHED, HAS BECOME VERY STRONG. HOWEVER, IT MAY BE SAID THAT IN THE LONG-TERM PERSPECTIVE THE WEAKENING OF THE WHITES' GROUND SEEMS INEVITABLE NOT ONLY IN NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA BUT ALSO IN SOUTH AFRICA.

(B) FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA HINGE ON THE FOLLOWING FACTORS;

(I) DEVELOPMENTS IN NAMIBIAN AND RHODESIAN PROBLEMS DEPEND GREATLY ON WHETHER THE RADICAL ELEMENTS OF THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT WOULD ACCEPT A PEACEFUL SOLUTION AND ON THE DEGREE OF RESISTANCE BY THE HARD-LINERS AMONG THE WHITES.

(II) IN THE LONGER PERSPECTIVE, THE KEY SECRET

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PAGE 03 TOKYO 14769 03 OF 04 011155Z

ISSUE WOULD BE WHETHER SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BE WILLING TO CHANGE SUBSTANTIALLY ITS APARTHEID POLICY. HOWEVER, IN VIEW OF THE SIZE OF THE WHITE POPULATION AND THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE IN SOUTH AFRICA, THE SOLUTION TO THIS PROBLEM WILL BE FAR MORE DIFFICULT THAN IN NAMIBIA OR RHODESIA. PROSPECT FOR THE SUCCESS OF THE POLICY OF ESTABLISHING BANTUSTANS IS DIM.

(III) IF THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA BECOMES SERIOUS, THE WESTERN COUNTRIES IN VIEW OF THEIR TIES WITH SOUTH AFRICA WILL BE FACED WITH AN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT CHOICE. IF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES REMAIN SYMPATHETIC TO SOUTH AFRICA UNDER SUCH SITUATION, THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE MODERATE BLACKS

COULD DETERIORATE.

(IV) THE SOVIETS, IN CONTRAST TO THE REST, SEEM TO BE SO PLACED AS TO CONTINUE TO EXPAND ITS INFLUENCE. NEVERTHELESS, IT WOULD NOT BE EASY EVEN FOR THE SOVIETS TO INCREASE THEIR PRESENCE IN THE AREA, BECAUSE OF THE WARINESS ON THE PART OF THE AFRICAN COUNTRIES AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION, THE DISTANCE FROM THE SOVIET MAINLAND, AND THE WESTERN COUNTRIES' MOVES TO CHECK THE SOVIET UNION WHICH HAVE BECOME MORE ACTIVE SINCE THE ANGOLAN STRIFE.

(3) ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF
AFRICAN COUNTRIES

(A) THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES HAS BEEN DETERIORATING IN RECENT TIMES DUE TO THE WORLD DEPRESSION AND THE LOSS OF EFFICIENCY IN ECONOMIC MANAGEMENT CAUSED BY RAPID AFRICANIZATION. MANY DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS ARE BECOMING DIFFICULT TO IMPLEMENT. MOREOVER SOME SAHEL COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN SUFFERING SERIOUS DAMAGE FROM DROUGHT.

(B) UNDER THE SERIOUS ECONOMIC SITUATION, AFRICAN COUNTRIES ARE INTENSIFYING THEIR DEMANDS ON THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES REGARDING PRIMARY COMMODITIES AND AID. IN MANY AFRICAN COUNTRIES,
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PAGE 04 TOKYO 14769 03 OF 04 011155Z

THE DIFFICULT ECONOMIC SITUATION HAS LED TO
GREATER POLITICAL INSTABILITY.

(C) UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, ECONOMIC TIES WITH THE WEST HAVE BECOME OF INCREASING IMPORTANCE FOR THE PROMOTION OF NATION BUILDING BY AFRICAN COUNTRIES. IN ADDITION TO THE PRESENT ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES, THE LACK IN THE BASIC ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE SUCH AS THE INSUFFICIENCY IN THE INFRA-STRUCTURE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE, MINING AND INDUSTRIES, LOW LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND SKILL, OR THE LACK OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS NECESSARY FOR A MODERN STATE, PRESENT GREAT OBSTACLES TO THEIR NATION BUILDING. THERE IS A STRONG NEED FOR ASSISTANCE IN THESE FIELDS.

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SECRET

PAGE 01 TOKYO 14769 04 OF 04 011205Z

43

ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00

USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSC-05 PA-01

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2657

S E C R E T SECTION 4 OF 4 TOKYO 14769

2. JAPAN'S POLICY

(1) JAPAN'S PRESENCE IN AFRICA IS LIMITED AND WILL NOT INCREASE GREATLY IN NEAR FUTURE, AS JAPAN HAS HAD NO HISTORICAL TIES WITH AFRICAN COUNTRIES LIKE THOSE ENJOYED BY THE U.K., FRANCE OR OTHER WEST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES. MOREOVER, JAPAN'S TRADE WITH AFRICAN COUNTRIES IS VERY SMALL, ACCOUNTING FOR ONLY 5 PERCENT OF JAPAN'S TOTAL TRADE.

(2) THE ABOVE NOTWITHSTANDING, JAPAN IS CONCERNED ABOUT DEVELOPMENTS ON THE AFRICAN CONTINENT BECAUSE OF THE FOLLOWING REASONS (DUE TO JAPAN'S ATTRIBUTES, IT CAN EASILY BECOME THE SCAPE-GOAT IN AFRICA AS WELL):

(A) AFRICAN COUNTRIES, AS IMPORTANT MEMBERS OF THE SOUTHERN COUNTRIES, ARE INCREASING THEIR VOICE ESPECIALLY IN MULTILATERAL FORUMS.

(B) AFRICA IS A MAJOR SOURCE OF IMPORTS OF SUCH IMPORTANT NATURAL RESOURCES AS IRON, CHROMIUM, COPPER, AND MANGANESE.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 TOKYO 14769 04 OF 04 011205Z

(C) THE EXPANSION OF THE SOVIET INFLUENCE IN AFRICA COULD CONSIDERABLY AFFECT THE BALANCE BETWEEN

THE EAST AND THE WEST.

(D) AFRICAN COUNTRIES EXPECT MUCH FROM JAPAN MAINLY IN THE FIELD OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND ALSO IN THE POLITICAL FIELD, SINCE JAPAN IS A MEMBER OF THE ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES, AND HAS HAD NO HISTORY OF COLONIALISM IN AFRICA.

(3) BASIC ELEMENTS OF JAPAN'S POLICY TOWARD AFRICA ARE AS FOLLOWS:

(A) IT IS IMPORTANT THAT AFRICAN COUNTRIES MAINTAIN INTERNAL STABILITY AND STABLE TIES WITH THE WESTERN COUNTRIES AND PROMOTE THEIR DEVELOPMENT.

IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT JAPAN CAN EXERCISE ONLY LIMITED LEVERAGE IN AFRICA, JAPAN SHOULD COOPERATE IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FRAMEWORK IN WHICH AFRICAN COUNTRIES CAN MAINTAIN STABLE ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP WITH THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES.

(B) IN CARRYING OUT ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION WITH AFRICAN COUNTRIES, JAPAN SHOULD ON ONE HAND GIVE DUE CONSIDERATION TO MSA COUNTRIES AND, ON THE OTHER HAND, GIVE PRIORITY TO KEY COUNTRIES SUCH AS ZAIRE AND NIGERIA WITH THE VIEW TO ENCOURAGING FORCES OF STABILITY IN AFRICA. SUCH AN APPROACH IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT FOR JAPAN SINCE THERE WILL BE LIMITS TO THE AVAILABLE FUNDS FOR JAPAN'S ASSISTANCE TO AFRICA.

(C) JAPAN IS OPPOSED TO RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, AND FROM THIS STANDPOINT, ATTACHES IMPORTANCE TO THE PEACEFUL REALIZATION OF MAJORITY RULE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. JAPAN WILL CONTINUE TO COOPERATE WITH OTHERS, IN WHAT WAYS POSSIBLE, FOR ATTAINMENT OF THE ABOVE GOAL.

(D) AS THE LONGTERM PROSPECTS FOR THE SOUTHERN
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PAGE 03 TOKYO 14769 04 OF 04 011205Z

AFRICA SITUATION SHOW SIGNS OF CONTINUED INSTABILITY, JAPAN SHOULD GRADUALLY CHANGE THE SOURCES OF THOSE RESOURCES WHICH IT NOW IMPORTS FROM SOUTH AFRICA.
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